793 Parish priests, (unlike mämhër scholars) are also
[86] not bashful about demanding their due (produce tithe,
sheep, honey, even cash) from their tenants of church
land. Sardonic peasant humor expresses this in the pro-
verb:

[39] "The bashful priest,
the blind donkey,
(are one)" . (i.e. both would be helpless and
starve to death).

532 Among artisans who do specialist work for the
346 church is the artist of church paintings, usually highly
colorful and realistic scenes from the suffering of the
saints, in morbid and gory detail; the beauties of hea-
ven and the trinity; the horrors of hell ruled by a chain-
ed, soul-munching Satan; etc. These religious and semi-
religious story illustrations and legends are painted on
canvas and then attached to the inside of church walls.

874 Church students are usually boys 10 years or
over (never girls), who at first learn the Geez-Amharic
alphabet, reading Geez without translating, beginning with
the Epistle of the Apostle John. They are taught by rote,
memorizing by chanting the portions out loud. There is
very little writing in the early grades, and experimen-
tation is traditionally discouraged, for fear that the
boys might use their new-won learning to write magic
amulets. Before examinations, church studetns stimulate
874 their mental processes by eating the leaf of a Datura
276 weed resembling a Jimson weed called "<u>astänager</u>" (lit. to
stimulate talk) which is also used by däbtära in exor-

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

874 [270] cising the bewitched, and which seems to have an effect similar to benzedrine.

Examinations include fluency in reading Geez and in reciting by heart Gospels, Lives of Saints, and Ethics ("sirak"), the last particularly in the upper grades. In still higher grades they learn devotional poetry ("qeñe"), including composition, and "zäma", church liturgical music in correct tones and notes.

874 792 For more advanced study, the boys interested in a career in the church have to go to monastery schools. At the old and famous Amhara monastery of Dabra Libanos the number of students may reach 500 at any given time. They earn their keep by serving the monks, begging in the vicinity, and eating as much as they can when a noble family arrives to give a memorial feast, "täzkar", in honor of a departed soul. Often the students do not possess a good shamma, and therefore have adopted the ancient clothing of sheepskins over their rags, to keep themselves warm and to be identified more easily when they go begging. Begging, they carry a small basket on the left arm and, leaning on a maqomya stick with the right, chant ecstatic church melodies until the housewives fill the baskets with enjara or parched barley ("qolo").

Those who serve the monks, carrying water, washing their clothes, carrying their food, water, etc., receive part of the monk's daily ration("dergo"). The 874 students usually graduate by age 18 to 20, and then decide whether to take monastic vows or return home to

874 utilize their learning in other capacities. The sons of former feudal nobles or of priests usually secure administrative positions or judgeships without difficulty; those of undistinguished birth could become däbtära; or locate a vacancy as teacher in a parish school--then "däj tena" the regional bishop to confirm them in the appointment.

872 538 Methods of the church school were followed, for centuries, for all those boys who attended the local school, which was in reality a lower-grade church school itself. The initial process of learning to read was called "quter" (lit. number), "counting" letters. The second stage was called "Geez", for then they learned the seven syllabic variants of each Geez consonantal letter. The third stage, "werd nebab", had the pupils read the entire syllabic alphabet up and down until completely memorized in sequence. In the fourth stage, "abugida", the order of the syllabic alphabet is mixed up and the pupil must place each syllabic letter in proper order. In the 5th stage, he reads, in a sing-song which varies from province to province, the first chapter of the Epistle of St. John, first letter by letter, then word by word, finally phrase by phrase, a repetition of the first four stages. This musical singsong "mälakta yohanesä hawareya" symbolizes what ABC does in the West. Then follow readings from the New Testament, Psalms of David ("dawit"), then any text "on sight" in Geez or Amharic. Liturgical songs and poetry most often learned by heart are: "Wäddasē Maryam", "Anqäsä Berhan", "Mälka

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

872 Maryam", "Malka Iyasus". All of these are basic devotion-
[538] al liturgy.

[212] It is noteworthy that there is usually no formal training in writing at all, for fear of misuse. Individual students can take the initiative of finding a private tutor for writing.

At this point the local schooling ended, usually after about three years. In the past, only church students travelling to canters of learning went beyond that level. Only they learned to understand what they were reading.

874 On this higher level, church students read Geez
538 literature such as Miracles, Lives of Saints, "Gädel", "Tamarä Maryam", "Gänzät", "Mar Yes-haq", and Ethics, "sirak". Also church homilies, "dersan", containing doctrine, "dersät", composed by a saintly author, "Därasi". Important is the book "bal abäw" a combination of homilies of Greek, Coptic, and Syrian church Fathers, probably translated from Arabic to Geez in the mid-15th century under Emperor Zara Yaqob.

874 Those proceeding still further divided into specializations (sort of electives). Some specialized in devotional poetry, including compositions, for about 3 years--"qene". Others specialized in "zema", for which they had to be talented with a musical ear to distinguish the musical notation of "degwa", "soma degwa", "me'raf", "mäwasat", "zenmarë qeddasë säatat". Still others specialized for a minimum of three years in religious philo-

874 sophy, "mäṣehaf" (lit. book), interpretation of Old and New Testament, and writings of Coptic Church Fathers on the subject. Also studied are the "Käbrä Nägäst" (epic of the "Solomonic Dynasty") and the "Fetha Nägäst", law code.

Examinations are held orally, usually on the saint's day of the institution, which thereupon becomes graduation day. The oral degrees given are termed, "qenē", "zēma", "mäṣehaf", according to the individual's specialization, much as Western colleges grant Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, etc. degrees. Receipt of the degree is regarded only as a commencement in scholarship, for a real "mämhēr" requires 20 to 40 years of study, to complete all these branches of religious education, in view of the Amhara themselves.

872 562 Since little girls receive no formal education, they cannot be taught nearly as much as boys, when, later in life, females aspire to become active nuns in nunneries. At most they are taught Geez prayer, with difficulty and by rote, and do nto go beyond what is taught little boys at the local parish schools.

792 Monks usually reside in landowning monasteries, except for former priest who have taken monastic vows and return to their parishes. Monasteries are headed by the "abbatachen" (lit. our father), whose official co-administrator is called "Säbate". In personality he is usually dominant andcommanding, unlike the mild, otherworldly abbatachen; though on occasion the same person can hold both positions. Each large monastery has a

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

796 food of the feast prepared by the losing side.
526 In the evening "fires of joy" are lit, where the rain-drenched, weary and sore contestants and others can dry out, drink barley beer, and are supposed to forget and forgive the hostilities. Some may still boast of individual feats of heroism, in Amhara warrior style; others will sulk. But generally the day ends in harmony, after the excitement which itself was a welcome break in the monotonous hibernation of the rainy season.

796 The end of the annual cycle coincides with the end of the rainy season. The last 5 days (in leap years 6 days) are added after the end of the last month, and are called "Pagumēn" or "Qwagmē". On the 3rd day the [776] annual festival of St. Raphael, called "qeddus Rufaēl", [821] the water saint, takes place. The rain, which still falls heavily that day, is considered "ṭebel" (holy water) and to have the power to dull the poison of snakes so [787] that their bites will not be fatal. Much rain during Pagumēn is taken as an omen that the crops will be good.

796 This day is final examination day for the boys ●874 who have attended church school long enough to be promoted to "deacon". They are examined in correct chanting of liturgy and prayers. To be mentally wide awake they often go to the dabbara beforehand, and, for a small gift, obtain the stimulating herb "esa fars" (lit. Persian wood) or drink boiled "astänagär" (lit. the plant that makes to talk), which also helps to overcome stage-fright.

796 The younger children go from hut to hut, chanting:
857 "In the name of Rufael,
539

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

659 178 spectacle of self-abandon of the mourners, who scream, roll on the ground, cut themselves bloody, etc.; and the financial burden of excessively elaborate memorial feasts which were and sometimes still are ruinous to the families involved. To teach by example--a most effective way in a country where everyone imitates the "great man"" --the emperor himself ordered that no memorial feast be given for his own daughter who died in 1933; just some money donations were made to the priests reciting prayers for her soul.

874 More recently, the emperor founded the Theological College of Addis Ababa, headed by an Egyptian Coptic president and some faculty members from among Egyptian Copts, to modernize the curriculum of the future leaders of the church among whom he hopes, for the first time, to find allies rather than permanent foes. The probable successor to the present Abuna (archbishop) of Ethiopia, Theophilus, is believed to share the emperor's views and has already travelled abroad several times. The emperor wishes the younger clergy to become more learned and to be able to translate the Bible from Geez into Amharic for the lay populace. He has promoted the printing of bibles in Amharic, rather than Geez, thus using religion to promote the official, national language of the state. 198

6. The Fraternal Association called "mahabbar".

575 This "voluntary" association of individuals, growing out of the "private communion" of the Abyssinian

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

857 when even brooks are swollen, but rivers soon become too dangerous.
524 During the first season, when they learn to swim, a rope is tied
868 around the child's waist and held by an adolescent or young adult.
At this time boys make waterpistols, "tiqqesh" with a bamboo syringe; also peashooters shooting small pebbles with a bamboo strip acting as spring. Boys also make panpipe flutes from stout reeds, in preparation for "spring".

E. Formal Education and Extra-curricular Activities.

872 Basic education, already described in connection with the church, now falls into two types: the traditional church school; and the modern-style elementary school. Overlaps are beginning to appear.

Until a generation ago, the traditional church school had a complete monopoly on education, and for the vast majority of all children this is still true at this writing. It resembles in structure and function the "kuttab" school of the Muslims. Boys of peasant parents usually do not enroll before the age of 11, for until then their economic services are utilized fully, and only when they approach adolescence are the needs for their education felt by parents.

874 Most of the boys attend church school for only three years, for if they wish to study beyond what the village priest can teach them they must leave home for another district or province, e.g. a monastery school. Since the peasant family usually cannot or does not wish to sponsor this, the boy who insists becomes a "wandering" student, begging his way. Usually he goes for "zema"

874 studies to places in Begemdir province (Gondar), for "qenye" to Gojjam province. He stays there until he receives his certificate, to work as a "dabtara" scribe; if a persistent student he may try to obtain ordination into the priesthood, or, if lackadaisical, make it a life-long occupation to go from school to school, begging his way, learning how to pursuade village women to give him food for a "blessing", and how to fend off dogs with a stout staff. Sometimes, when free food is scarce, he works at semi-skilled occupations such as basket-weaving and weaving sun-umbrellas, selling them at the market. Parents, fearing that this might be the outcome of his "education", discourage boys from leaving home and field.

872 874 The 3-year attendance at the local church school is regarded as highly desirable by both parents and the church, and most boys - but no girls - attend it. When the boy enrolled there has learned to read portions of liturgy or the Bible in the Geez language, chanting psalms and gospels out loud, the father rewards the priest-teacher by sending him a sheep or a goat, sometimes even an aged cow or old ox. The priests often charge their older students with teaching the younger ones, in exchange for special privileges.

855 Boys misbehaving, such as making errors or not fully participating in the chanting in unison, or asking questions considered impious, are punished immediately by twisting of the ear or slaps on the head.

The methods of teaching are frequent repetition of lessons, learning by rote, chanting of memorized lessons. Translation into Amharic is rarely taught at this level, and writing almost never (until very recently in some locations under central government influence). The priest-teacher usually exerts greater efforts toward

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

[redacted] dren of generous parents, and punishes and quite overtly
874 neglect[redacted]dren of poorer parents. Probably not more than 20%
of the boys attend with regularity, but absentees may be punished.
872 The modern elementary school is available only at provincial capitals, and the nation's capital (the latter contains also high schools and a college). The curriculum of the elementary schools is now patterned after the American model, with Amharic and religion taught by Amhara teachers and priests, and other subjects, including English from the 3rd grade on, taught by imported teachers from India (also Europeans in Addis Ababa itself). Equipment includes blackboard ("s̈ällēda") and chalk, but few printed books.

During the past decade, overlaps have been developing. Some church schools now also teach elementary arithmetic and Amharic writing, which the new law requires, though most in a minimal fashion or not at all. Arithmetic uses Amharic numerals, and more recently, also Arabic numerals. The first steps in this modernisation had been ordered by Menelik II, but the change is still far from complete. Conversely, the students enrolling in elementary schools of provincial capitals are usually not younger than 11, as in the old tradition. Graduates of the 3-year village church school may enter in the 3rd grade of the modern elementary school, but are usually older than their classmates, so that they are 20 years old at graduation. This is often found in provincial capitals.

Only during the past decade have several girls' elementary schools been founded in some provincial capitals.

872
565 Since elementary schools, though increasing in number, still constitute the major bottleneck in education, demand exceeding supply, (while high schools are more nearly sufficient because of fewer applicants), sons of officeholders and feudal lords find it

795 His social status compares to that of a "great man" (telleq säw),
756 but much of this is due to the fear in which he is held, because of his power over the supernatural world, in Amhara belief. There is fear that if someone were to offend him, he might use his powers to do evil - though black magic is not his usual metier. (The "love magic" of the däbtära has been described in relation to sex).

[59] "of insects, the worst is the scorpion;
of men, the worst is the däbtära".

[57] For the dabtara are unabashed in inviting themselves to feasts, weddings and any distribution of goods (e.g. parceling out of meat as soon as an ox has been slaughtered). In fact, they often act as if the host owed them an apology for not having sent an official invitation. Therefore, dabtara are usually invited to family feasts even if they are not kin.

795 The däbtära learns his craft through apprenticeship, beginning
756 when in the upper grades of church school. To achieve this, he
0874 must be "ättäntam" (of unmixed Amhara or Tigre stock), have a good chanting voice and musical ear, be good in school, and find a däbtära-teacher willing to impart his knowledge to him. At this stage in church school he begins to be permitted to learn to write; *and is not punished for doodling - Forbidden at lower grades for* fear a student might stumble on a formula and misuse a powerful spell.

795 There is even one priestly function which the däbtära occasionally
756 carries out. That is "re-baptism". He may re-baptise a patient vic-
[183] timized by ganyä, sometimes also cases of buda, as part of exorcism.

797 ish surgeon, Kurt Hanner. In 1927, the American Presbyterian Mission opened a
743 100-bed hospital at Gullale on the outskirts of the capital. This hospital was staffed with American Mission doctors. In 1934 the "Zauditu Memorial Hospital" was founded by the Government. This hospital was run by the Seventh-Day Adventists chiefly as a maternity hospital. Helped by the American Society for Lepers, the Sudan Interior Mission and the Ethiopian Government, in 1934, founded a leprosarium at Akaki, near Addis Ababa. In
● [874] 1935, the beginning of a school for "Medical Assistants" was set up in the Menelik Lycee, but this work was interrupted by the war. In the interior of Ethiopia medicine had also progressed. There were a number of mission hospitals, of which the most important were the Swedish Mission Hospital (Tafari Makonnen) in Harar and another Swedish Mission Hospital in Lekemti. The French Railroad had its own hospital in Diredawa.

744 Public health work was still very primitive. A public health committee, consisting of three physicians and a pharmacist, had been set up in Addis Ababa as the "Commission de l'Hygiène Publique." This com-

[p. 711a]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

Amhara invention. Though exact documentation is not available on the matter, *qenē* appears to be one of the flowers of the literary renascence which took place during the centuries following the ascendance of the Solomonid Dynasty. The earliest specimens of *qenē* extant date back to the reign of Emperor Eskender (1478–94).[6] Ethiopian traditions trace the invention of *qenē* to the work of a man named Tawānay, who is said to have lived in Gojjam in the fourteenth century.[7] The important schools of *qenē* have always been located in Amhara country, primarily at the monasteries of Wādelā, Wāsharā, and Gonj in Gojjam Province. While the choristers of Tigre have long since mastered the canons of *qenē* composition in Ge'ez, the use of wax and gold in the vernacular occurs much more often in Amharic than in Tigrinya. Indeed, wax and gold is so important in Amharic that some Amhara maintain that one does not properly speak the language unless he is well versed in the art of exploiting its numerous ambiguities. One of the more common indictments of Tigre character by Amhara is that the Tigre are "dry" (*daraq*); they say just what they feel and do not know how to be ambiguous. Conversely, many Tigre as well as other non-Amhara people in the empire complain about the excess of symbolism and subtlety in Amhara discourse.

Educated Amhara traditionalists extol wax and gold as a unique creation of their culture. One of them has written that *qenē* is as distinctive of Ethiopia's spiritual culture as *tēff*, a species of grass grown as a cereal grain only in Ethiopia, is distinctive of her material culture.[8] They further maintain that Ge'ez *qenē* contains a unique kind of wisdom, dark and deep. Instruction in this occult art of verse composition has traditionally been regarded as propaedeutic to the study of religious texts.[9] Partly this is because Ge'ez grammar, which must be known in order to understand these texts, is normally taught only in the schools of *qenē*. The more philosophical reason given, however, is that by affording exercise in fathoming secrets it "opens the mind" and thereby enhances the student's ability to approach the divine mysteries.

Important as such functions may be in the high culture of Ethiopia, wax and gold represents more than a principle of poetic composition and a method of spiritual gymnastics for a small class of literati. The ambiguity symbolized by the formula *sam-ennā wurq* colors the entire fabric of traditional Amhara life. It patterns the speech and outlook of every Amhara. When he talks, his

[9] The course of instruction in *qenē* takes from two to five years, according to the talent of the student and the degree of mastery he desires. Ge'ez grammar and *qenē* prosody are taught side by side. The former, usually studied in the evening, is learned by rote. The latter is taught by running the student step by step through the gamut of figures and stanza forms. Instruction by example begins in the dark, before sunrise. The teacher extemporizes on a given theme in each of the stanza forms. His productions are memorized and discussed. In the daytime each student goes off by himself to a secluded place and composes one stanza. When finished—it may take him all day to perfect a couplet—he recites it to the master, who makes appropriate critical comments.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

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874
516

FIG. 1.—*School of qeṣṣ* (*Wärkwä Märyäm monastery, Gojjam*)

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FIG. 2.—*Negäsä't church, Agäw-wäḍ, Mass*

[P.14-A]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

#175 643 633 517 chant"), *qenē*, and *tergum* ("interpretation")—is said to have received its definitive organization.

Dāwit III appears to have had a pronounced interest in Amharic folk song, for the more perfect enjoyment of which he built a special hall in the imperial compound. Because of this he has been called "Dāwit the Singer"—no term of praise in a land where minstrelsy is looked down on and where serious deportment is expected of royalty. Actually, this epithet, with its connotation of "playboy," was not deserved. Dāwit was a religious man, and in his brief reign built two churches. Knowledgeable Gondarēs today insist that, at first, even the priests were happy to join him in the amusement hall to listen to the one-stringed fiddles and the witty songs. Only after Dāwit's partiality to the [798] Unctionist doctrine (that the humanity of Christ was made divine through the unction of the Holy Spirit) led him to persecute the Unionist clergy (who hold that humanity and divinity are blended in the single nature of Christ) did they abuse his music hall and tarnish his name.[7]

[341] Interest in architecture was revived by Bakāffā. He constructed a long U-shaped castle which, together with the new castle of his Empress Mantuāb, completed the major complex of buildings in Gondar. Mantuāb's castle is [532] noted for bas-reliefs of the Ethiopian Cross, while her other castle at nearby Qusquam is decorated with bas-reliefs depicting saints and animals as well.

The tastes of Iyāsu II were especially refined. He cultivated extensive gardens and orchards, an unusual pursuit for an Amhara monarch. He built a large and handsome church. He began to construct a palace, in the lavish [344] decoration of which he took a personal interest. Budge writes of this:

> A number of Christians who had fled from Smyrna took refuge in Gondar, and the king employed them to decorate his palace with filigree work. The upper parts of the walls of the throne room were covered with three rows of Venetian mirrors set in gilded copper frames, and their lower parts . . . with slabs of ivory. The roof was made of painted cane mosaic, the work of the Falasha. . . . Iyāsu II spent his days with the workmen, and himself learned to do some of the work under the direction of the Greek workmen.[8]

#175 633 517 The decline of imperial power at Gondar after Iyāsu II did not produce a slackening of the cultural activities that had been concentrated there. During [643] the reign of Takla Hāymānot II (1769-77), for example, when the actual power at Gondar was in the hands of a lord from Tigre, seven more churches [874] were built. One of these, Ba'ītā Māryām, eventually became one of the most famous schools for the teaching of *aquāquām* ("religious dance"), and in its heyday boasted 276 masters. Another, Abi Egzi, became noted for instruction in *tergum*, and is still a leading school for such studies.

[538] The composition of verse, in forms which had become canonized during the early Gondar period, continued to flourish. As political turmoil often

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

flushed with the reports of Menelik's conquests[47] and embellished by the wax and gold of Alaqā Gabra Hānnā, was a kind of traditional climax, a final expression of the integrity of traditional Amhara culture.

THE CONTEMPORARY SCENE

Gondar Today

A renascence of Gondar began during the Italian occupation, when it was made the capital of Amhara, one of the five large provinces into which the Italians divided Ethiopia. They equipped Gondar with modern buildings and roads, restored parts of the old castles, and made it the transportation center of northwestern Ethiopia.

After the liberation, Gondar retained some administrative importance by becoming the capital of Bagemder, one of the twelve provinces of postwar Ethiopia. A further impetus toward development of the town came in 1953 with the selection of Gondar as site for Ethiopia's first public health college. The existence of this college, with its enthusiastic staff of WHO and AID personnel, has stimulated the improvement of transportation and public utilities as well as local medical services. The population has increased to twenty thousand.[48] The progress shown by the city inspired one Ethiopian journalist to write, in the *Addis Zaman* of April 19, 1960: "By virtue of its annually increasing growth, sanitation, and modern appearance, one is emboldened to say that the city of Gondar takes second place only to Addis Ababa."

With the turn of Ethiopia's interest from the old church curriculum to a modern educational program, the traditional importance of Gondar has necessarily declined. It remains the place to go for the study of *aquāquām* and for a "diploma" in textual studies, but the total number of students now pursuing these subjects is probably less than a hundred. Almost none of the young people of Gondar itself attend the higher church schools. Still in the vanguard of learning, Gondar's youth prefer the currently more advantageous government schools. The elementary schools of Gondar receive many more applicants than they can accommodate each year. Gondar's secondary school is, next to that of Harar, the oldest and largest in the provinces.

Nevertheless, the life of Gondar is still dominated by its clergy. Nine church schools in Gondar are supported by government funds. Unlike other cities in Ethiopia, Gondar is partly governed by a town council of clergymen. The city is divided into districts marked by the location of the churches, and the town council consists of the heads of these churches—some of whose positions are so important that they are assigned directly by the Emperor. This council is convened to handle disputes over land and other matters, and to communicate the mayor's proclamations to the people. An accusation signed for a plaintiff by a priest carries much weight in the local courts. The ecclesias-

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

paid increased attention in recent years. A new phase of public health endeavor in this decade was marked by the imposition of a nationwide health tax in 1960.

Health has become a prime objective in Ethiopia's modernization program because of a growing realization that the wide prevalence of malaria, tuberculosis, typhus, intestinal parasites, syphilis, trachoma, leprosy, and other diseases continues to sap the vitality of the nation's productive forces and to visit misery on countless peasant families. The public health forces in Ethiopia (Ministry of Public Health, WHO mission, and AID Public Health Division) have long understood that Ethiopia's health needs cannot be met by piecemeal therapy. They have undertaken a program of preventive measures by preparing public health teams in the medical college at Gondar. The college trains health officers, community nurses, and sanitarians within a common framework, so that when they go into the field they will understand each other's tasks from the start. The first public health center employing such a team was opened in the late fifties; Ethiopia's Second Five-Year Plan envisions one such center for every fifty thousand people by 1967.

The objective of these public health workers is to transmit a number of instructions—concerning personal hygiene, environmental sanitation, early care for illness, and isolation of contagious diseases—which are at variance with customary beliefs and practices. Experience with comparable programs elsewhere suggests that the success of such health teams is by no means assured.[18] What are the forces working for and against the acceptance of these new instructions by the Amhara peasantry? Both negative and positive factors may be identified with respect to each of the three general categories previously referred to: the general outlook regarding change; attitudes toward the agents of change; and degree of compatibility between the new cultural items and the old.

The Amhara peasant's general resistance to change may be presumed operative here as elsewhere, particularly since health practices are often associated with religious beliefs and sentiments. Defense of indigenous therapies has in fact become a significant channel for the expression of traditionalist sentiment, a channel that has even been utilized on occasion in the Addis Ababa newspapers.[19] And a general posture of resistance to changes in the field of health is supported by the interests of traditional practitioners, *dabtarā* and *tanquāy*, who are in danger of losing clientele if modern-trained health workers come to win their allegiance.

Counter to this conservative drag, on the other hand, is the peasant's powerful desire for one basic change in his life circumstances, namely, the reduction of morbidity and mortality. Despite his idyllic conception of paradise and his frequent contention that life on earth is something of little value, the Amhara wants to avoid death. Even from the religious point of view he is

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

second four in English, although Ethiopian teachers often continue to teach in Amharic in the latter years.* This standard curriculum is supposed to be followed by all schools in the country—church, mission, and private schools, as well as those staffed by the government. In practice, a scarcity of teachers and materials in the provincial schools means that the curriculum is followed less closely there than in Addis Ababa. (The exceptional case of Asmara, capital of Eritrea which federated with Ethiopia in 1952 after sixty-two years under Italian administration, will not be considered here.) This elementary program culminates with a general examination that covers the five main fields of Amharic, English, mathematics, science, and social studies. Successful completion of this exam has been required for virtually every type of training beyond the elementary level.

At the secondary level, by contrast, the Ethiopian student faces a bewildering array of educational programs. As listed in the flow chart of the Ministry of Education, they include theological secondary, academic secondary, elementary teacher training, handicraft teacher training, commercial school, technical school, agricultural secondary school, nurses training, community nurses training, sanitarians, naval cadet training, air cadet training, civil aviation, and inservice technical training. Admission of students to these schools is the responsibility of the individual directors, who take into account the students' own preferences when feasible.

A similar procedure obtains at the college level, for which successful completion of the secondary school-leaving examination has in most cases been mandatory. During the 1950's a number of schools were opened at the post-secondary level: the Arts and Science Faculties of the University College of Addis Ababa, the Agricultural College, the Engineering College, the Public Health College, the Building College, and the National Defense Colleges. Some of these have now been combined into a single institution, the Haile Selassie I University.

For students who have gone as far as the upper grades of elementary school, the desire to get into one of the secondary level schools—no matter which one—has usually become the uppermost concern in their lives. They have become obsessively aware of the "value" (*ïqem*) of further schooling, namely, as the surest way to a job that pays well. Perhaps they have become fired with idealism to help advance their country and hope to gain some special competence that will enable them to do so. Until 1962, moreover, the rewards of being a secondary school student included material fringe benefits that gave many a powerful motive for prolonging their education. Above all,

* In 1963–64 the system was changed to one with six years of elementary education followed by two years of junior secondary education.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

701 more eager and impatient to modernize Ethiopia than do members of the
648 new nobility. This contrast was already apparent at the time of the Italian invasion, when Ethiopian officers were condemning the archaic practices of civilian officials who, they charged, were holding back the defense efforts. Yet the image of a progressive, solidary military elite in Ethiopia is justified no more than the image of a reactionary, solidary ministerial elite; nor should the military leaders be seen as standing in fundamental opposition to their civilian counterparts. There is much friendly intercourse between the two groups. Army officers are often related to civilian officials, by blood or by marriage. Military personnel have in a number of cases been assigned to civilian posts in the government. While the military carry on much of their social life among themselves, they also enjoy a good deal of interaction with civilians of high status at parties, dances, weddings, and funerals.

701 Like the new nobility, moreover, the military officers do not form a cohesive group with common interests and ambitions. The one group which did develop a high degree of solidarity, esprit, and common political goals—the Officers Corps of the Imperial Bodyguard—was dissolved in the wake of its defeat in the 1960 rebellion. The military men have been checked and balanced by much the same techniques as have the new nobility. As a whole, they are held together by little more than the institutionalized structure of the security forces. As such, they are in any event bound to play an important part in determining the character of the future government of Ethiopia as they are crucial now in upholding the present regime.

THE BIRTH OF AN INTELLIGENTSIA

571 The formation of a modern intellectual class in Ethiopia is still in its earliest
871 stages. Given the small number who have completed elementary school (a
162 number still under one per cent of the national population) all Ethiopians who have graduated from secondary school may for the time being be considered members of a secular educated elite, those with college and graduate degrees enjoying correspondingly higher status within this elite. The total number in this group reached an estimated six thousand in 1962, about one-fourth of whom held college degrees.

571 Equally indicative of the rudimentary condition of the Ethiopian intelli-
571 gentsia is the poverty of its institutional facilities and of its means of com-
873 munication, both internally and with the international intellectual commu-
874 nity. As of 1961, institutions with primarily intellectual purposes were limited to the small college of arts and sciences, four vocational colleges, two small research centers (the Pasteur Institute and the Section d'Archéologie, both financed by France and staffed mostly by non-Ethiopians), the Haile

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

Selassie I theater, and the secondary level art school.* Library facilities included the National Library, with some fifty thousand volumes; the University College Library, with about forty-five; and the reading rooms of the United States Information Service, the British Center, and the Soviet Information Service. The national library also contains a historical museum, and there is a handsome and well appointed archeological museum nearby, neither of which has so far been operated with a view to encouraging public attendance.

Except for occasional lectures sponsored by the national library and the University College extension program, none of the above institutions serves as a center for intellectual communication among adult Ethiopians. It was hoped by some that with the inauguration of the Haile Selassie I University, in December, 1961, a major new center of intellectual life would be created; but the government found it difficult to push ahead with its announced concept of an integrated institution which would operate autonomously and at a high standard.

Outside these institutions, moreover, there have been few channels of communication through which Ethiopian intellectuals can develop their minds and stimulate their imaginations. There are no periodicals to serve as a medium for such communication. One possibility, the *Ethiopian Observer*, is not quite an exception. Limited resources have kept it from operating at as high a level as available talent might permit, and its basically apologetic orientation renders implausible its claims to be "A Journal of Independent Opinion." The daily newspapers which feature contributed articles—the *Ethiopian Herald*, the *Addis Zaman*, and the Amharic sections of the *Voice of Ethiopia*—have tended to exclude pieces that have anything to do with highly controversial matters. Nor are there many social occasions for the serious discussion of intellectual matters. Professional associations, clubs devoted to intellectual matters, and even informal discussion groups exist not at all or else in a very haphazard form.

Contact with the intellectual world outside Ethiopia is almost as meager. Foreign-educated Ethiopians tend to become intellectually demoralized on returning home. The loss of a taste for reading has frequently been one of the first casualties experienced by Western-educated Ethiopians on return from abroad. Only a few hardy souls attempt to maintain some sort of link with the outside world, through subscribing to such magazines as the *New Statesman*, *Paris Soir*, or *New Republic*. For most of them, coming home means a cessation of the most elementary intellectual functions, other

* In 1963 an Institute of Ethiopian Studies was established at Haile Selassie I University, including a substantial Ethiopiana library and museum.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

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Name of School[a]	Enrolment[b]	Grades Surveyed	No.		
			Total	Male	Female
I. Tafari Makonnen School	320	11th and 12th	60	60	0
II. Haile Selassie I Secondary School	230	12th	47	47	0
III. Menelik II School	245	12th	15	15	0
IV. General Wingate Secondary School	325	12th	58	58	0
V. Madhane Alem School	160	12th	21	21	0
VI. Empress Mennen School	220	12th	19	0	19
VII. The English School[c]	.....	11th and 12th	9	7	2
VIII. Madhane Alem School (Harar)	450	12th	23	23	0
IX. Haile Selassie I School (Gondar)	135	11th	45	45	0
X. Theological Academy	100	12th	13	13	0
XI. Commercial School	335	12th	42	31	11
XII. Technical School	420	12th	57	57	0
XIII. Social Work Training Program[d]	12	12th	11	3	8
XIV. Teacher Training School (Harar)	278	12th	51	51	0
XV. Agriculture School (Ambo)	120	12th	29	29	0
Total secondary schools	3,350	.....	500	460	40
XVI. University College	420	3d and 4th	44	.....	.....
XVII. Engineering College	100	3d and 4th	31	.....	.....
XVIII. College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts (Alemaya)	172	3d and 4th	49	.....	.....
XIX. Haile Selassie I Military Academy (Harar)	138	3d[e]	38	.....	.....
XX. Public Health Officers Training Program (Gondar)	60	3d and 4th	38	.....	.....
Total colleges	890	.....	200	.....	.....

[a] These schools include all but five of the government postelementary schools which were offering full four-year programs in 1959. Schools I–IX are listed as "academic secondary schools"; X–XV as "special schools"; and XVI–XX as "institutions of higher learning." Unless otherwise indicated, they are located in Addis Ababa.

[b] The enrolment figures are for the academic year 1959–60, except for Tafari Makonnen School, where a preliminary version of the questionnaire was used during 1958–59. In schools which include elementary grades as well, the figures refer only to the secondary level enrolment. The total universe of the grades surveyed in these twenty schools was 1,150.

[c] A very small private school, attended by several Europeans as well as Ethiopians. The entire Ethiopian group of the two highest classes responded.

[d] A two-year program organized with the assistance of UNESCO. The students surveyed were the equivalent of secondary school seniors.

[e] The terminal year.

113 16. Mulugeta Wodajo, "Postwar Reform in Ethiopian Education," *Comparative Education Review*, II (February, 1959), 27.

17. Cf. William Shack, "Organization and Problems of Education in Ethiopia," *The Journal of Negro Education*, XXVIII (Fall, 1959), 405–20.

18. *Youth's Outlook on the Future: A Cross-national Study* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1955), p. 9.

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

townspeople of highland Begemder.

Field research was concentrated in the vicintiy of Gondar, the largest of the province's towns, and imperial capital during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Today, it is the provincial capital and an important ecclesiastical center, housing several famous churches and reknowned ecclesiastical academies. The town is also the home of many of the province's most famous healers. Extended research was also conducted in the Woggera region north of Gondar, in the rural hamlets discussed in Chapter Three. The division of research efforts between town and countryside reflects the important urban and rural aspects of Amhara medical practices with regard to the distribution of practitioners.

Through observation and inquiry, this field research sought, first, to elicit a description of the social and natural environments in which Amhara perceive pathogenic, prophylactic, diagnostic, and therapeutic forces to operate. A second concern was to examine how Amhara select elements from these environments, and arrange them into etiologies with which to explain particular disease episodes. On the one hand, this meant collecting abstract, conscious etiological models used by Amhara; on the other hand, it meant recognizing etiologies that are constructed pragmatically and piecemeal, in the course of prophylactic and therapeutic failures and successes. Fi-

Occasionally, an herbalist, particularly a medhaniyt awakiy, will utilize an apprentice as his medhaniyt korac. This is usually a close kinsman, a son or nephew, who has been taken to gather medicinals on previous occasions, and is thus familiar with their appearance and location. As an apprentice, he relieves the herbalist of the burden of gathering botanicals, which often involves trips to the hot and malarial lowlands. At the same time, the apprentice gradually becomes acquainted with various pharmacological details of the therapy.

No terminological distinction is made between herbalists who rely on a medhaniyt korac and those who do not. The client, in fact, is usually unaware of the situation in specific cases.

Classed together with other herbalists is the maker of herbal amulets, the kitab kitabiy. In most cases, the herbal amulet (kitab) is part of a complex therapy which includes, as a final step, the presentation to the sick-man of a leather pouch containing a sample of all or some of the ingredients of the primary medicine. The amulet is worn around the neck, on the girdle, or fastened beneath an armpit. In this context, the amulet performs a prophylactic function, for it protects the now vulnerable client against a recurrence of the ailment. Certain of these therapists also provide these prophylactic amulets to clients who have never had the ailment in